

PEACE NEWS

No. 316

JULY 3, 1942

2d.

HONG KONG POSTSCRIPT

THE story of the Japanese atrocities has been unobtrusively dropped from the British press. But the American Time (May 18), whose war-reporting is much more objective than anything that appears in this country, contains the following:—

It will be a long time before the world knows how Japan's new order will fare in Asia, for the Japanese have a genius for suppression. But by last week two facts began to glimmer through the hugging-mugger murk: 1 the Japanese were stealing everything in sight; 2 they were treating prisoners surprisingly well...

Like a crazed animal, the Jap had purged himself after a savage campaign in Nanking's 1937 blood-bath. But, whatever fears gnawed at hearts in US homes last week, there was no confirmed evidence that the rape of Nanking had been repeated, not even at Hong Kong, where the British wrathfully protested Jap atrocities. A few cases of rape were reported there, and British troops were said to have been put to work shining shoes. But, on the whole, what happens before complete order is restored in a captured city is often better left unsaid.

As for Japanese treatment of prisoners after the first bloody plunge, best evidence in the US pointed to the Japs' adherence—with variations under varying field commands—to the Red Cross Convention of 1929 for fair treatment of prisoners of war.

Under terms of the Red Cross convention, interned US fighting men were being mistreated only to the extent that the Japanese standard of living was abusively lower than the US standard. These men received the pay and rations of men and officers of similar rank in the Japanese forces. After a fight as valiant as history records, thousands of these men faced months of a Jap soldier's diet of rice and raw fish. How long before they tasted ham and eggs again was up to the US.

The availability of shipping for food relief is much under discussion. Accordingly the PPU Food Relief Campaign Committee have requested the publication here of the text of their leaflet on the subject, which will be on sale in the next few days, price 7/6 per 1,000, plus postage, entitled

SHIPS

to Save the Hungry

IN Greece, Belgium, Poland and other friendly countries thousands are suffering terribly from food-shortages and the diseases that spring from under-nourishment. Thousands more are dying of starvation. Every one of these deaths means that one more man, woman or child will never know 'victory' or 'liberation.'

Successful controlled food-relief is being administered in Greece and, on a smaller scale, elsewhere. The possibility of sending more food to Greece and supplies under similar safeguards to other hungry people is being anxiously discussed in Britain. No one doubts that there are many difficulties to be overcome. This leaflet deals with only one of them—the question of shipping.

The shipping shortage is extremely serious. Can ships be found to carry relief when every ship is needed to carry war supplies for the United Nations?

The British Government does not give shipping shortage as the reason for hesitation about sending further relief supplies. It is a mistake to suppose that all shipping at the disposal of the United Nations carries supplies to those nations only. At the end of June 1942 the United States resumed shipments to French North Africa, despite the colony's subservience to Vichy. In recent months more than 100,000 tons of food alone has been sent to neutral Turkey where nobody is starving. If ships can be found to take supplies to well-fed neutrals they can be found to take food to starving allies.

NEUTRAL SHIPPING

No relief proposal has failed because shipping could not be found. Whenever the belligerents have agreed to relief neutral ships have been offered—ships not otherwise available to the United Nations. Turkish ships carried the first relief

to Greece. Swedish ships are carrying the larger supplies to Greece. Portuguese and Swedish ships form the fleet which carries thousands of tons of foods to Europe to supplement the rations of military prisoners of war. These ships have not been convoyed, but none of them has been sunk or even attacked.

Let the belligerents first agree on the supplies they are willing to send. Then we shall see if Sweden, Portugal, Turkey, and perhaps some of the South American Republics, can spare further shipping. Sweden in particular may be ready to offer further help. She has many ships virtually locked up in the Baltic. Even Spanish and French merchant shipping should not be overlooked.

Neutral shipping may be available for much more relief work than is yet being done. But there is probably not enough neutral shipping for all the relief work that should be done.

Let us first initiate relief up to the limit of available neutral shipping and then decide what more can be done.

Should shipping from the United Nations be spared for relief work

when the capacity of sympathetic neutrals has been exhausted? This is not a question for the British people alone. If we think of the exiled Governments as more than puppets it is for them to determine whether or not to spare a dozen ships from the 3,000,000 tons of Norwegian shipping, the 2,750,000 tons of Netherlands shipping, the 1,000,000 tons of Greek shipping and the other shipments belonging to the small nations.

WHAT WILL WE SACRIFICE?

What should be our attitude? We should realize that these ships carry not only munitions but enormous quantities of food—food for us. Are we prepared to reduce our own almost comfortable standard of living to release a few ships to save our starving friends? If not, can we expect them to retain any faith in our friendship? Can we hope that they will find the inspiration to refuse co-operation with the Axis when the Axis alone offers food, while we offer starvation? More than a million workers have already chosen work in Germany for the sake of wages and food. What little we sacrifice to send food-relief may be amply repaid by what we gain in bringing new hope to the enslaved peoples.

Do you agree that—if the exiled Governments wished to use a few of their own ships for relief—we should make some small sacrifice of tobacco, and other luxuries, so that the lives of these starving people may be saved?

Surely you would ask this of the Greeks, the Belgians, the Poles if your own family were starving? Do unto these others as you would have them do unto you.

THE POPE SPEAKS

"A Word for PEACE"

This report of the Pope's recent broadcast, on the 25th. anniversary of his being ordained a bishop, is taken from the May 23 issue of The Tablet.

NOW that the people are living in the expectancy and suffering of imminent future operations, We take the opportunity offered Us by today's celebration to speak once more a word of peace. We speak this word, aware of our absolute impartiality towards all the belligerents and of Our equal affection towards all peoples without exception.

"We are aware that in the conditions of the present moment, precise formulations for proposals of a just and equitable peace would have little probability of success. In fact, every time We speak of peace, we run the risk of offending one side or the other. While one side places its hopes on the results achieved so far, the other trusts in future battles. If, however, the present complexity of military and political gains offers no immediate prospects of peace, the destruction caused by the war in the moral and material spheres has reached such a point that urges us to increase every valid effort to achieve a rapid end to the conflict."

Behind the war front, the Holy Father continued, arose another huge front, the front of family anguish. "We should like to address a fatherly warning to the rulers of nations," he said. "The family is sacred. It is the cradle of children, and also of the nation, of its force and its glory. Do not let the family be alienated or diverted from the high purpose assigned to it by God."

"We think of the separation between husbands and wives, and of

the destruction of family life; of famine, and economic misery. There are heart-breaking and unending examples of every one of these. This is one of the most terrific and terrible things which has ever happened to mankind; indeed, it is such as to make us fear grave economic and social dangers for the future. While great intelligences were busy trying to build a new social order, and people knew that national wealth was one of the fundamental bases of the solution, today this national wealth is being spent by the hundred millions to destroy all that exists."

His Holiness appealed to statesmen to let no occasion pass which might open up to the nations the road to a peace of justice and moderation, arising from a free and a faithful agreement, even if it did not correspond, in all points, to their aspirations. The gratitude of mankind and the consent of their own nations would not be wanting to those generous leaders, who, inspired not by weakness but by a sense of responsibility, would choose the road of moderation and the field of wisdom, when they met the other side also inspired by the same sentiment.

NO TAX-GATHERER

A DEAR friend of this paper has just brought her gift to the Peace News Fund; but she has reproached me very gently with having become a tax-gatherer. Not, she explained, that she would have me appeal less frequently, or urgently; but she would like me to make it clear that those who for any reason cannot afford to contribute are not expected to do so.

I gladly do so: for I am with her in this matter. Contribution to the PN fund must not be a burden to anyone. The tiniest gift is welcome; but it should be freely given.

Contributions since June 15: £35 10s. 6d. Total to date: £23,555 14s. 8d.

The Editor

PACIFIST COMMENTARY:
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

Enchanting View!

THE situation in Egypt has gone, with almost sickening speed, from bad to worse; and it looks as though the Eighth Army had been completely routed. The reverse is a major catastrophe. Says the military correspondent of The Times, June 30:

If the situation at Matruh is indeed as bad as appears, we shall have to revise our strategic long-term views and designs. That Alexandria and the Suez Canal should stand in peril from a force of the size commanded by Rommel may seem, in view of the vast number of men and the quantities of material dispatched to Egypt, almost incredible; but it is now what we have to contemplate.

We have to contemplate, too, that the effect of the catastrophe upon Turkey will also be catastrophic. And we must remember that Turkey has been uncomfortable ever since the temporary partition of Iran between ourselves and Russia.

"Overall Picture"

THE text of the Anglo-American statement, issued on June 27 after the prolonged Churchill-Roosevelt conference, make sorry reading.

The Prime Minister and the President have met twice before, first in August, 1941, and again in December, 1941. There is no doubt in their minds that the over-all picture is more favourable to victory than it was either in August or December of last year.

That is, they met when the first German attack on Russia was in full swing; and after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. Since Mr. Churchill's public profession has always been that the entry of America into the war ensured final victory to the United Nations, it is decidedly difficult to see how subsequent events have improved the situation. Singapore, Burma, China, Tobruk—these added touches to the masterpiece of "the over-all picture" apparently need to be seen from the vantage-point of Washington to be appreciated. Distance lends enchantment to the view.

Member for Matruh?

SEEN from Britain, the picture is not so good; indeed it was sufficiently depressing to induce the electors of Maldon to send a faithful reader of Peace News—Mr. William Hickey, of the Daily Express—to Parliament as an Independent with nearly double the votes of his National Conservative opponent (12,219 to 6,226). Mr. Hickey's real name is Tom Driberg, and his age is 37. The Manchester Guardian (June 27) calls him "the member for Mersa Matruh." But whether voting for him was a rational reaction to the disaster of Tobruk is doubtful. Perhaps it is as rational as anything else the press suggests.

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PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement
Office: (Please specify department)

8 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

The Insoluble Crisis

ONE would certainly believe, from the language of the newspapers, that the disaster of Tobruk was bound to cause a political crisis. Even the Daily Telegraph seems very angry. The Times is positively withering. We were told (it says) that it was to make our position in Libya impregnable that supplies were withheld from Malaya. Now we find that the equipment in Libya itself was both insufficient and inferior.

Suddenly, all the big talk of a second front sounds very foolish and forlorn. In a square fight, in a vital sector, the British forces have been, to use the queer language of the Daily Mail, "outbrained and outmachined."

But will there be a political crisis? The Manchester Guardian does not think so; neither do we. For essentially the position is just the same as it has been ever since the Churchill Government was formed. There is in sight no alternative government—no constitutional one, that is: and the unconstitutional ones (if any) are by nature invisible.

The Government ought to be changed; but it cannot be changed. That is Britain's tragedy. We have, already, as efficient a government as is possible on our political system. Unfortunately, Britain is represented by a Parliament elected in 1935: on issues either illusory or irrelevant or obsolete. And the moral unity of Britain, which is real enough up to the point of positive sacrifice, falls to be expressed in terms of a compromise between the mediocre personnel of two decadent political parties. Nor can a general election give life to our politics, for it would be fought on an obsolete electoral register, on issues totally obscure, at a time when much of the population has become migratory, and there are five millions in the army.

Thus we have the machinery of democracy at its most imperfect to cope with a situation which would tax democracy at its best. The result—however we may conceal it—is that in June 1942, after two years of disastrous war-government, British democracy has not the creative energy, the recuperative power to produce a government capable of taking the initiative in any realm whatever—social, economic or military. The nature of the disease was made apparent in the Government reply, made by Lord Portal, to the debate in the Lords (June 18) on planning, initiated by Lord Reith. Said Lord Portal:

"One must bear in mind that at this stage it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the war will be won by that side which can ultimately bring to bear the greatest transport resources and use them most efficiently. Nothing must be allowed to interfere with this, and it would be a grave mistake to introduce at this time controversial issues which would have the effect of diverting our energies from the war effort. Let there be no mistake—any effective solution of the transport problems will be controversial."

Can any one make sense of that? Efficient organization of maximum transport is the condition of victory. Nothing must interfere with this. Therefore it would be calamitous to raise controversial issues which would distract us from the war-effort. But any efficient organization of transport is controversial.

It is a perfect Euclidean example of the vicious circle; and, we believe, it is characteristic of the present political condition of Britain. The condition of political crisis is now endemic, and insoluble: except by minority revolution. Constitutionally, Britain is paralyzed.

Britain's Dangerous Political Situation

For, as I suggested last week, the political situation has developed into one of complete frustration. Parliament dare not get rid of Mr. Churchill, simply because there is no alternative government. The Manchester Guardian (June 29) speaks cheerfully of "the derisively little support the Wardlaw-Milne vote of censure has attracted": now, it concludes, the House knows "that it need not bother its head about the safety of the Government and that it can drastically probe recent events without fear."

Political Crisis

THE House can do nothing of the sort: for it is, as far as effective action is concerned, impotent. Two quotations will serve to show how dangerous and unprecedented is our domestic political situation.

The first is from The Economist (June 27): "This is a crisis of leadership as well as of confidence. The two go together. Mr. Churchill is still the only possible leader; and a Parliament which sought to bring him down might well bring down Parliament itself." The second is from The Times (June 29): "On the rare occasions during the past two years on which the Government have called for a vote of confidence, the result has been twofold and paradoxical—an overwhelming majority and a loss of prestige for the Government."

And the reason of the paradox is plain. The Churchill Government is the adequate expression of the national will as far as it can be expressed through Parliament to-day. All the successful independent candidates have vociferously protested their support of Churchill. But it is not because the country has any positive faith in Churchill. It is because it would prefer to win the war; and, apart from Churchill, it sees no chance of winning the war. Because the alternative to Churchill now appears to be chaos, and chaos does not make for war-efficiency.

No Confidence

MR. CHURCHILL'S record as a war leader for the last two years is disastrous; and it is a record of one who shows no inclination whatever to learn from his mistakes. Nevertheless, the proposal to hand the military direction of the war over to the service-chiefs inspires no confidence either: for nobody has any confidence in the service-chiefs.

"Morale in Britain would have suffered a serious and perhaps irreparable decline, were it not that a majority of the people still believe in the decisive effects of bombing and in the imminence of a second front. Bombing there must be to the utmost limits of practicality. A second front there must be, as soon as the chances of military success in

Western Europe seem reasonable. But the people of Britain and the United States, and the struggling peoples of occupied Europe must not be led up the garden. They must be called anew to blood and sweat and toil. They must not be given a seemingly sure hope and a seemingly sure date for their deliverance, if the chances are that events may not work out so well..."

"Confidence can be rehabilitated now only by audacity and by the successes in the air and the land attacks which have been so freely promised. But the attacks must be successful. The only way to restore the confidence that has been shaken by lost battles is to win battles" (Economist, June 27).

Outclassed

BOMBING? Captain Cyril Falls, military correspondent of The Times, informs us that in order to bomb Germany as intensively as the enemy has bombed Malta, four million bombers would be necessary (E. Standard, June 24). The second front? The Tobruk affair has revealed the inferiority of our very latest equipment to that of the Germans. "No invasion of Europe could succeed in similar conditions of technical inferiority" (Economist, June 27). And it is hinted that the inferiority is not merely British: "Is it true that the new American tanks as well as the British tanks, the new American guns as well as the British guns, proved completely inferior to those used by the German?" (New Statesman, June 27).

And the Manchester Guardian (June 29) points out that it was Comrade Beaverbrook, the great champion of the second front, who was chiefly responsible for the inferior British production. It reminds us how only five months ago he was boasting about our enormous output of two-pounder guns. "This," the Manchester Guardian comments drily, "is the gun whose shortage the messages from Libya deplore and which, excellent and useful though it is, the Germans have now outclassed."

Britain and Total War

THE only defence to this amazing record of failure and inefficiency is that everything has now been changed. But there is no reason to suppose that anything has been changed. The cause of the trouble is, as this paper has repeatedly made plain, that a democracy such as ours must be half-hearted in waging total war. It cannot be efficient. Both Russia and Germany have undergone revolutions: Britain has not.

Take for instance the fantastic demand of the Engineers' Union for a wage-increase which the Secretary of the AEU reckons at computed to add £100 millions to the national 35/- per week per man, and which is generally wage-bill. There is no pretence that the engineers are poorly paid: the grievance is that they are no longer so highly paid, relatively to other workers, as they were. Now that the wages of the miner and the agricultural worker have been increased, the engineer is

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(Continued from page one)

not so plainly the cock of the walk. Yet probably the engineers' is the most vociferous of all the unions for aid to Russia and the second front. And it sees no contradiction in the two demands.

Realize the Facts!

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON has an admirable article, "The Contemporary Revolution," in the July-September Adelphi (The Oaks, Langham, nr. Colchester: 1/6). In the course of it he makes three points, which are unpalatable to some readers of this paper, but which, I believe, are none-the-less true.

Arguing that Soviet Russia has now become as potent a symbol as revolutionary France, Hampden Jackson urges the necessity of examining and realizing the facts behind the symbol. "The British masses who refuse to recognize in the GPU the origin of the Gestapo, in the Communist Party the model of Hitler's party organization, in Stalin's insistence on 'frontiers that are strategically sound,' the Soviet translation of Lebensraum, are in danger of losing the war they are so deeply anxious to win, by taking unto themselves other devils worse than the first."

The second point is addressed to the confident planners of a post-war order. "They underestimate the deep desire for peace that is in all men—the desire, which will grow as war goes on, to be left alone to cultivate one's garden; it is a state of mind which may well frustrate all the schemes for a planned economy and the policing of Europe in the post-war years."

Small States and Russia

MR. JACKSON'S third point may serve as a reply to a letter denouncing as "a slanderous insinuation" against Russia my quotation from the Economist in this column a fortnight ago: "From Right to Left the Finns are united in believing that an Allied victory would mean incorporation in the Soviet Union, and against that danger they will fight on." I am accused of "ignoring the fact that the people of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland are quite a different set from the disreputable little handfuffs who would fain again become their tyrannous and exploiting rulers."

Which is the slanderous insinuation? I wonder what my correspondent actually knows of social and political conditions in the Baltic States. I suspect nothing at all. Mr. Jackson does know something, and he writes: "What achievements in reconciling liberty with equality, rights with duties, consumers with producers, private property with collectivism can any great Power show to compare with those made in their different ways by Denmark and Norway, Switzerland and Sweden, Finland and Estonia?"

Let me add this from the Bishop of Chichester in the Christian News-Letter (June 24): "No just account of Swedish opinion can fail to emphasize Sweden's distrust of Soviet Russia, or note the added grounds which it believes it has for that distrust in recent events in Finland under Soviet pressure, and in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania immediately after the annexation of those States by Soviet Russia in 1941."

HATE is prescribed, but -

What is the Correct Dose?

DESPITE the abandonment of "Hate Training" by military authorities, the nation is still confronted with the difficult problem—Exactly how much hate ought we to have?

There is a lamentable divergence of opinion on this matter. At one extreme we have the Archbishop advocating no hate at all and exhorting us to love the enemy while killing him. At the other extreme the Marquis of Donegal, the popular Sunday Dispatch columnist, advocates 100 per cent hatred and "German justice for 90 million German vermin."

Both extremes present practical difficulties. It must be admitted that, owing to long-distance weapons, quite a lot of killing can be done without the need for any untoward emotional disturbances, and it is possible, I believe, for a bomber crew, in favourable conditions, to dismember a whole townful of families while engaged in an uplifting discussion on brotherly love.

But circumstances do not always permit this detachment. Even in the most up-to-date wars personal contact is unavoidable, and in such cases a combatant may feel unable to proceed without the deliberate engendering of at least a working minimum of dislike.

The policy of imitative vengeance recommended by Lord Donegal presents even graver difficulties. According to him, German justice means atrocities. Therefore he wants Englishmen to commit atrocities.

This raises the question—who is to do the dirty work? To appoint a number of British subjects to behave like Nazis and descend to the level of German vermin, would be an embarrassing task.

No doubt people could be found

willing to undertake the job, either from natural choice or in a spirit of patriotic sacrifice. By combing out their respective underworlds, the Allied police might succeed in recruiting an army of gangsters willing, for an adequate remuneration, to indulge their proclivities in the cause of democratic retribution.

Or again, we might advertise:

WANTED: Persons of sadistic inclinations to inflict torture, mass-murder and other Nazi methods of retribution on German people. Applications should be accompanied by letters of recommendation from magistrate, doctor or clergyman testifying to moral suitability. Good wages.

We may take it for granted, I think, that Lord Donegal himself would be the first to volunteer. He claims a first-hand knowledge of the German temperament, and persistently reminds his opponents that he was educated in Germany. I do not know how far his education went, but he could surely do no less than offer himself as supervisor, to see that Nazi customs were strictly observed.

The objection to this course, however, is that on returning to this country, the Nazi-imitators might find themselves subjected to a somewhat invidious distinction. Even Lord Donegal might find himself asked to resign from some of his clubs. Public opinion is notoriously fickle.

What we need, therefore, is a mid-way course between these two extremes. And here I cannot do better than recommend the excellent suggestion of the Western Mail:

"The emotion (hatred) should be restrained, or it may degenerate into rank poison, but it is nevertheless a powerful stimulant in medicinal doses."

Here, I think, we have the right

asks

OWLGLASS

scientific attitude. Justly regarding hatred as a poison, yet wisely acknowledging the stimulative utility of poisons in the treatment of human ills, it makes an unanswerable case for the determination of the exact amount that should be used.

In the case of other stimulative poisons, such as strychnine, the most elaborate care is taken to ensure the correct prescription. In the case of alcohol, before it is distributed for public consumption, the exact proportion of the spirit to the total volume of the mixture is fixed by legislation.

Yet we find the spirit of hatred being dispensed to the public without any means of testing whether the spirit is above or below proof.

And the public is free to choose between the Archbishop's plea for total prohibition and the full-strength Vansittart brand of 100 per cent raw spirit.

In the interests of national unity of purpose, therefore, I demand the fixing of a statutory minimum of hate-content for the compulsory inoculation of the body politic.

In a scientific age, it should not be impossible to fix the right prescription. The need for exactitude is obvious. If the dose is too small it will fail to stimulate, and our war effort will decline. If too large, a toxic condition will set in, and we shall reach the end of the war with half the population suffering from Hætrexemia, or Delirium Furens, and in no condition to build a Utopia.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Pacifist or War-Resister?

By JOHN BARCLAY

MIDDLETON MURRY gave a concise definition of pacifism at our recent AGM when he said "it was the effort of men and women to create the elements of a society wherein peace was the natural condition."

There is a great difference between pacifism and war-resistance. The instinctive kindness of all human beings would, under normal conditions tend to make them "war-resisters," and I suspect that 90 per cent. of all peoples would, if tested singly, register a resistance to modern war. War has become mechanical and is largely a matter for technicians—whilst the increased use of the bomber as a weapon against civilian populations removes the barrier that at one time existed between combatant and non-combatant.

It needs constant effort, training, and rigid self-discipline to become a pacifist, and most people are too lazy to make the attempt—or sustain the effort if once begun. A pacifist cannot rely on expediency, and is therefore fairly easily out-manoeuvred; but if his faith is well-founded he cannot be dislodged.

War-resisters, on the other hand, are eager to demonstrate their resistance, and in order to make it most effective will often deliberately engage their opponents in order to score points. The pacifist may also in this sense be a war-resister: there is a danger that he will be led to rely too much on political action and will shout for a "practical-policy" instead of realizing the need for constructive imagination.

It was Max Plowman who once wrote:—

Plenty of amiable people live and die quite comfortably without ever having achieved imagination. Imagination is consciousness in activity. It is the means by which man possesses the supernatural power of doing unto others as he would they should do unto him. Imagination is far more than the power to see ourselves as others see us. That is mere self-awareness. Imagination involves love and understanding. It is the power of seeing the truth and then loving it.

It is the power, the only power, by which jealousy can be truly overcome; for it is the power by which we can see another in his personal identity and, so seeing him, put him before ourselves, not in canting humility but in sincere love and admiration.

Mere war-resistance is not enough. We have to create through our imaginations the power by which we can overcome our enemies. The Peace Pledge Union was created in the faith that men and women everywhere could achieve this, and by achieving, conquer.

The Greatest People?

In his recent BBC postscript, Mr. Duff Cooper said, "I believe that we are the greatest people on earth. I am not sure that we are not the greatest people that there has ever been."

Surely Mr. Duff Cooper has forgotten or does not realize the condition in which Britain now is? Has he realized the great extent of the slums in England? Can he have been blind to the long queues of unemployed?

Next time Mr. Duff Cooper wishes to declare that we are the greatest people ever to live, he should first read about the great empires of the East and compare their methods with ours.

(Miss) J. H. PALMER
Friends School, Saffron Walden, Essex.

Louder Than Words

Time after time, in reading Peace News, I find pacifists criticizing what pacifists do. What seems one man's meat, seems another man's poison. I think we should have reached that stage by now, where every pacifist should do as conscience dictates. Those newly won over to pacifism find themselves on the edge of a precipice, hardly knowing how to retain their balance.

Actions speak louder than words; pacifists will not be judged by what they have said, but what they have done.

If ever I find myself in a dilemma, as a Christian pacifist, I ask myself—what attitude would Christ take towards this? There I find the solution, although a good number of my pacifist friends may fail to agree with me.

If we all took this advice and stopped bickering among ourselves, we should have less discord and more harmony.

E. S. DANES
112 Kenwood Rd., Birmingham 9.

The Post-War Paradise—2

By JOHN SCANLON

LAST week I tried to show that by losing part of her foreign investments Britain had lost her claim to a certain amount of food, oil, rubber, timber etc. Thus, when the war ends the nation, win or lose, will be faced with the question of trying to secure food for its people, timber for rebuilding to meet the national need for homes plus the amount rendered necessary by bombing. The nation will also require to secure all the raw material necessary—iron, rubber, etc.

Admittedly all these things must be imported if 47 million people are to live as they lived before 1939. If the better world promised by Sir Stafford Cripps is realised, obviously the standard of life will require to be raised. That is to say there will be more and better food, clothing and houses. Before this war, according to Lord Kindersley, Britain had investments abroad to the value of £3,678 millions. The income from this varied from £200 to £220 millions. In 1931 it dropped to £168 millions, but by 1938 it was back again to £210 millions. This amount did not come

direct as cash. In the first instance it came mainly as food and raw materials and from the proceeds of the sales the British investor received his cash.

Admittedly we can no longer count on this dividend in helping to keep the balance of our international trade. In 1931 Professor Clay had to report that part of the income was gone. Now the war itself has destroyed part of the principal. If we are to get a higher standard of living obviously we must either produce it ourselves or so increase our exports that we will be able to make them balance the increased imports which are to raise the standard of life. One or both must be tried because obviously neither America or Canada will continue to send us food and raw materials free of charge.

THE OLD PROBLEM

The first question is: Can we produce what we need at home? Geography has already decided that we cannot. True, we might manage with less oil, rubber etc., but timber for

our houses we must have. This is the problem we had to face in 1921 and 1931. How to increase our exports. Every device known to man was tried in those years. Subsidies for food which allowed low wages. Rationalization, improved machinery, wage cuts, all were tried. In 1921 Mr. Lloyd George was trying to get back to 1914. In 1931 Mr. MacDonald was trying to get back to 1921.

Neither would recognize that the very basis of our prosperity was the thing which had destroyed our prosperity. Each Government and all its experts declared that British prosperity was based on our power to attract money to London which we lent abroad. No questions were asked as to what was done with the money. It was sufficient if it paid a dividend. In 1931 the then Prince of Wales was sent to what was the most hopeful market for our goods—the Latin Americas. He reported that these countries had developed their secondary industries to a remarkable extent. Our Dominions were already clamouring to be allowed to start their secondary industries. India their secondary industries; India was competing with Lancashire cotton.

INSUFFICIENT EXPORTS

Nevertheless the 1931 Government believed it could increase exports sufficiently to balance the cost of the things we needed to import. In 1929 our total export of all merchandise, including re-exports, was £339.3 millions. In 1932 it was £416 millions. By 1936 it had increased to £501 millions. In 1937 it was £596,761,000. In spite of all efforts we had failed to get back to 1929, and owing to the preparations for rearmament begun in 1934 the balance of imports over exports became so great that even our shipping, commissions and investments abroad could not keep us solvent.

In pre-1914 days, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, there had been a clear profit in international trade of £200 millions. This we re-invested abroad. In 1931 Professor Clay had to lament there was no longer a profit. By 1933 we had kept the balance but by 1936 the loss on all international transactions was £18 millions. In 1937 it had increased to £56 millions and in 1938 the deficit was £55 millions.

CASTLES IN THE AIR

In spite of these facts statesmen still talk of a new and better world, of a higher standard of life with better food, clothing and homes. Where is it to come from? Where is a population which has few raw materials to get them? And the only answer so far is by increased exports, by intensified competition as in 1921 and 1931. Well, let us be quite clear about it. The intensified competition of 1921 produced the slump of 1931. The intensified competition of 1931 produced the war of 1939. The idealistic speeches of Sir Stafford Cripps can do nothing to prevent the same thing happening. After all, Mr. Lloyd George made more idealistic speeches during the war of 1914-18.

Nor is it enough when Mr. Lytton conveys the impression that re-exports are a hopeful way out. Our total re-exports in 1937 were £70 millions, which is roughly 30/- per head of the population per year. And remember the excess of imports in 1938 was £390 millions, and now there is no £210 millions from investment to help in closing the gap. It looks as though our statesmen will require to think again.

hopes and fears for after the war INDUSTRY IN THE COUNTRY

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Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Truth About the U.S.S.R.

I AM glad that the PN attitude to the USSR has been criticized and defended.

I agree with reader Lipscombe (PN, June 19) that your "primary purpose should be to purvey the truth." I suppose it is impossible to be completely impartial. The vast social and economic development of the Soviet Union has had the interest of all socialist-pacifists, and pacifist-socialists; and, too, sympathy in solving the many problems of the Revolution.

To such socialist-pacifists who are not yet completely disillusioned some of the statements and comments of PN come with rather too great a shock. In reply to reader Hawkins (PN, June 19) you again assert that there is little to choose between the Russian and German regimes, that both are based on terrorism and denial of individual rights. Surely this is a little uncharitable. The methods of Hitler and Stalin are equally outrageous, and pacifists should not hesitate to say so. But the basis—is there nothing to choose between the aims and ideals of the Russian Revolution and those of Fascism? Is "Mein Kampf" on a plane with the work of Marx and Lenin?

The Soviet Union still hopes to achieve a society where class, race, and even the State will no longer exist. Is this retrogressive? Are those not among the aims of pacifists, and of PN? The aims of Nazism are exactly opposite. Hitler chose the right, the only, method to achieve his New Order. Stalin, by using the same method, has doomed his cause to failure. Hitler's means can only result in Hitler's ends. Stalin's professed ends can only be achieved by our (pacifist) means.

It is, I understand, the policy of PN to explain why Nazism arose—"Nazism is evil; we deny that that is... the important fact about it." (PN, 8/8/41). You are admirably indifferent to the misunderstanding charges of Nazi condonation. Without pandering to the fanatical Stalinite Soviet-worshippers, could we not have a little more of the charitable spirit of understanding the human weaknesses and mistakes of our Russian comrades who have taken the wrong road to the right destination?

JACK GATEHOUSE
31 Butts Green Rd., Hornchurch.

As a pacifist for 24 years and a constant reader of Peace News ever since there has been an Observer's Commentary, my belief that the PPU can ever do anything definite towards improving the future while the average member is so ignorant of the state of affairs in his own country before, during, and after the last world war, let alone the state of Europe and Russia during the same period, is definitely strained. If all our legislation dealing with the welfare of women and children were boosted as much as the Russian, it would appear far ahead, but what are the facts? Get your local authority to give you the memoranda of the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918, see how much is in operation and then try to implement the rest. It will take some doing.

The following books are useful in giving information about Russia: "Escape from the Soviets," by Madame Tchernavin; "I speak for the Silent," by Tchernavin; "I was a Soviet Worker," by A. Smith; "In the Moscow Manner," by Seymour; "Assignment in Utopia," by Eugene Lyons; and about Europe generally: "Europe Rehoused," by Elizabeth Denby. If not available in your local municipal library, ask the librarian to get them for you from the Central Library, for which you will be charged postage. "World Crisis" by Winston

Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Churchill, gives some good side lights on both Russian and European post-war history.

(Councillor Mrs.) OLIVE BENNETT
29 Fairfield Grove, S.E.7.

I agree entirely with Dorothy Hawkins (PN, June 19) but not with your comment, which ignores the real criticism and swoops on the one little bit of rhetoric. You say you "do no more than attempt to withstand the flood of uncritical Soviet worship." Then why not try to bring about a better understanding by recommending books such as Sir Bernard Pares's "Russia," a 6d. Pelican, or "The Socialist Sixth," by the Dean of Canterbury—both written before the war? There are many others of course, but these would do to start with, and I do think anything which leads to better understanding of other countries, any country, helps forward pacifism.

WESLEY GRIFFITHS
3 Prestwich Av., Leigh, Lancs.

Food "Bombs"?

You rightly warn readers (PN, June 19) against the hope that British shipping will be utilized in present circumstances for food relief abroad, but why not propose the dumping of edibles by air machines? A safe conduct arrangement whereby a convoy of bombers (half British and half German) would convey the means of life instead of death to millions of people might be a pleasant novelty and indirectly counter some of the hate propaganda. The difficulty of cargo space could presumably be balanced by numbers and by time-saving.

BM/JONIB
London, W.C.1.

The Mass Mind

While fully agreeing with G. M. Ll. Davies (PN, June 19) that "signing for peace is quicker than living for peace, but it is living pacifism that counts," I should like to ask whether the "mass mind" is not worth stirring too? Can we afford to quench the smoking flax? Signing helped myself.

I was quite thrilled by the idea of a vast fellowship of church-goers insisting on making "love thine enemies" a reality—even for the duration.

BETTY GLOVER
35 Clouston St., Glasgow, N.W.

Vital Question

In the numerous recent articles referred to, or published, in PN, dealing with the question of "post-war reconstruction"—the main point appears to be always missed, or evaded.

Whether such "reconstruction" can be accomplished, for good or for evil, depends solely upon the question—Is the greedy money-worshipping system to continue, or is it to be destroyed, and replaced by another in which human life and happiness come before rows of figures and noughts in a banker's ledger?

The system has now become one under which wholesale blackmailing of the people has become legalized. One which deliberately proposes to enforce upon future generations a slavery more hideous than any the world has hitherto practised, cunningly veiled under grandiose wording such as "Federal Union," "World State," "Nationalization" and so on. All meaning, in reality, hard work in a mechanized world, and planned poverty for all but the few.

The decision rests with the people. If their apathy and indifference to this outrage on commonsense continues, the peace, if ever it comes, will be a far worse thing than the war.

BERNARD SLEIGH
Campden, Glos.

Youth Registration Condemned

THE following resolution was passed at the recent meeting of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union:—

That the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union desires to place on record its strong condemnation of the compulsory registration of youth in its present form, which it regards as contrary to the best spiritual, moral, and educational interests of the young people of this country.

ANTI-WAR CANDIDATE AT SOUTH POPLAR

THE Rev. Patrick Figgis, who is fighting the S. Poplar by-election as a Christian Socialist and anti-war candidate, may have two opponents.

C. W. Gibson, LCC, for many years a London official of the Transport and General Workers' Union, is believed in Labour Party circles to be the official candidate, while there have been press reports that Pte. James Norris may enter the field as the "Voice of a Million Soldiers." It is understood, however, that he has not yet received the permission of the military authorities.

The response to his initial appeal has enabled Patrick Figgis to complete his preliminary envelope addressing, but volunteers will be wanted badly as soon as Nomination and Polling Days are fixed, for poster parading, canvassing, distribution of handbills and routine office duties. Helpers are asked to write to Gordon Bellingham at Kingsley Hall, Powis-road, Bow, E.3, NOW, stating whether they have any previous election experience. Contributions towards the heavy cost of the campaign will also be welcomed.

TUESDAY, JULY 7th, at 7.30 p.m.

The End of Our Time

An Interpretation by

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J. MIDDLETON MURRY
HERBERT READ
F. A. RIDLEY

Chairman -
FREDRICK LOHR

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C.O. in R.A.F. in India

IN reply to a cable from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, the Rev. Horace Collins, a Baptist Minister in India, cabled last week that Bernard Wellsbury, of Bilston, was resisting service in the RAF in India.

Bernard Wellsbury registered as a conscientious objector, but when he applied to the tribunal at Birmingham, in May, 1940, he was removed from the register. When called up, he tried to reconcile his duties on the RAF ground staff with his convictions, but his conscientious objection grew stronger and he was court-martialled and sentenced to 28 days' detention. Though he continued to refuse duty, he was drafted abroad last February.

The strongest possible representations on his behalf are still being made.

American COs refusing to work on war production are not eligible for unemployment benefits, the Michigan State Unemployment Compensation Commission ruled in disposing of a recent case.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The CBCO Bulletin for July contains an article by Harold Bing on "Conscientious Objectors Abroad"; The Conscription of Women in Germany; Lawful Orders in Civil Defence; the full story of Bernard Wellsbury; and other items. The price is 3d., postage 1d., or 3/- a year post free (CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.)

Entitled "What Can COs Do?", a twopenny pamphlet by Robert S. W. Pollard published by the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors (4 Lime Tree Av., Esher, Surrey) really answers the question with a number of quite specific, practical suggestions, some or all of which are applicable to every CO.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Aberdeen (also N. Scotland Region).—Leonard Duthie, 23 Morningside Av., Aberdeen. Cleckheaton and District.—Maurice Pearson, 189 Whitehall Rd., Wyke, Bradford.

Coulsdon (covering Purley and Sanderstead).—C. Adams, 186 Chaldon Way, Coulsdon. Derby.—Miss Doris Dawson, 44 Bank View Rd., Derby.

Hinckley.—J. Dobson, 42 New Buildings, Hinckley.

Loughborough.—Leslie J. Russell, Bramshott Beacon Rd., Loughborough.

Rochester and Chatham.—D. A. Haigh, 1 Horsley Rd., Rochester.

Swansea.—J. Cynfyn Jones, 6 Sunny Terrace, Treboeth.

FOOD RELIEF AS A POLICY

The Birmingham Council of the PPU passed the following resolution on June 24:

The Birmingham Council of the Peace Pledge Union regrets that the article "Food Relief as a Policy" was published as an editorial in Peace News (June 19), as it is contrary to the views of the National Council and the movement generally, and damaging to the work of the Food Relief Committee.

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INEXORABLE MARCH OF DEMOCRACY

The Democratic Advance. Edward Mousley. Andrew Dakers, 6s.

MR. MOUSLEY writes as a prophet justified by events; as one who foresaw the huge strategic scale of this war; one who, moreover, maintained—that no-one could at the moment call wholly irrelevant—that "a programme of 100,000 aeroplanes was imperative for the democratic front."

Mr. Mousley has, as prophets of history must have, his thesis of inevitability: a law "inexorable as is the law of gravitation" that compels "the eternal extension of the radius of order over human society." This evolution, he insists, is based on power. The thesis is less remarkable than Mr. Mousley seems to find it, but what gives the book its character and makes it, if one-sided, yet an interesting experiment in realism, is the detail in which it faces the present needs of the extension of order by naked power. Here the forward march of a democratic conquest is hidden behind no Atlantic platitudes.

"Either we stand for democracy in the world or we do not. If we do then we can spurn as craven any fear of being not only great, but greatest on earth." If inexorable law says that one group must be master then "the foibles any people may have had in the past no longer count."

The remarkable feature of the book is the way in which it couples an impressive and dynamic conception of strategy with an almost static conception of democracy. The author apparently holds with perfect simplicity that if "democracies" win the war then Democracy has won. The counter-thesis that democracy would disappear in the very process of world mastery is not answered, or even, I think, mentioned.

"The Democratic Advance" is a book perhaps in its concentrated rationalism a little too Germanic for the English palate. But it is at least of the type that is capable of generating just that unsectarian, half-baked sense of illimitable potency which to our misfortune has long been the mark of an expanding power. For that reason it is worthy of study.

A. C. S.

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TO PEACE COMMUNITIES. Plans for buildings, alterations, additions; surveys and full professional assistance offered free by qualified surveyor. Also War Damage. Box 347 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

MAXIMILIAN, A 3rd Century Conscientious Objector, faces his trial. Translated from the Latin, 2d. a copy (postage 1d.). C. K. Freer, Oakham, nr. Moreton-in-Marsh, Glos.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS &c.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE WAY Conference, Aug. 1-8. Third Order members and others interested write for details to The Priory, Little Wymondley, Hitchin, Herts.

EDMONTON. Music-Lovers Group Grand Anniversary Recital Sat. July 11, at 8.30 p.m. Edmonton Independent Church, New Hall, Knights Lane, N.9.

HOLY CROSS, Cromer St., St. Pancras, Sun., July 5, 11 Rev. R. H. Le Messurier; 6.30 Rev. P. L. D. Chamier.

JOHN MACMURRAY on "The Future of Christianity." July 12, 7.30, at Kingsley Hall, Bow.

WELLHALL, S.E.9. Public Meeting on Controlled Food Relief, Wed., July 8, 7.45 p.m., in Progress Hall. Chairman, Mayor of Woolwich; speakers, R. O. Mennell and representatives of European Legations and Embassies.

SITUATIONS VACANT

ASSISTANT COOK, male, suitable exemption, congenial companion, Warden pacifist. Warden, Rural Hostel, Long Buckby, Northants.

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MATRON wanted (lady and child possible) for Country progressive school near Bristol. Box 331 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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VACANCY for qualified pharmacist (lady or gentleman) firm with shops near London. Also unqualified assistant wanted, previous experience an asset but not essential. Pacifist preferred. Please send full particulars to C. Breeze, 151 Plaistow Rd., E.15.

VEGETARIAN Home for Children, Rainhill, Lanes. Required immediately, assistant matron. Apply to Secretary G. H. Perry, 47 Stairhaven Rd., Liverpool, 19.

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C.O. (28), 10 years experience shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, seeks useful work. Box 340 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (30) desires post within 20 miles Coventry. Would consider any job within reason; qualifications include knowledge of radio and metallurgical chemistry; at present employed in radio distribution (wired wireless) firm in the Midlands. Box 344 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 32, (conditionally exempt), 8 years experience in timber on selling side, would like position in timber mill (converting or otherwise). Knowledge of homegrown work; adaptable, some bookkeeping; drive all vehicles. Box 343 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CONDITIONALLY EXEMPT bricklayer, 23, wants job. Interested writing, theatre, music; try anything interesting. Box 342 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GIRL, 19, no experience, wants social service or land work. Preferably 30 miles London. Box 340 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET GARDEN or poultry work wanted, C.O., 26. Some experience, also experience of building and general repairs, carpenter own tools; would consider joining community, preferably West Sussex near Worthing or Surrey. Write Box 341 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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